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and his mother was very careful to avoid holding food over him, as any food that touched his head must be discarded. My informant Victoria inadvertently carried sweet potatoes in her child's hat and was obliged to throw them away because they had come in indirect contact with the child's head. When a child was old enough to marry, his head was no longer sacred.

Modern children have a carefree existence, perhaps not very different from that of old days. They gather near the beach and spend the entire day playing or swimming in the sea. They are particularly fond of riding and are excellent horsemen from an early age. Some of them accompany their parents in shore fishing, and I knew a little girl 11 years old who caught fish with a small spear. Young children help their parents, and many fathers are pleased to rid themselves of all work and to transmit it to their sons.

SECLUSION

Legends tell of girls who were kept in seclusion (*huru*) inside huts so that they might acquire a fair complexion. When they appeared in public later, they aroused great admiration for the whiteness of their skin. According to one popular Easter Island tale, the girl in seclusion was daily washed (*hopu*), deloused (*aruke kutu*), combed (*harihari*), stained (*akui*) with turmeric and red earth, and her clitoris was stretched (*haro matatuu*) so that it would be long and hanging.

Easter Islanders pointed out to me two caves in Poike which were said to have been inhabited by *neru*, boys and girls who were separated according to sex and were secluded by their parents in caves where they lived for years. They were probably of chiefly families and, as in Mangareva, were isolated in order to become white and stout and to manifest by their appearance the distinguished position of their families. Attendants of their own sex cared for them. Their parents brought them food, and it is said that during the smallpox epidemic of 1863 many of the *neru* died of starvation because there was no one left to feed them. They lived in idleness and allowed their nails to grow long. It may be recalled that the wooden hand, purchased by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, pp. 582-583) on Easter Island and given by him to the British Museum has long nails, thus proving the accuracy of at least part of the tradition. The *neru* sometimes appeared at feasts but stayed a little apart from other people. The fact that the secluded boys and girls lived in chastity induced the natives of later times to translate the word *neru* as virgin, nun, or women observing celibacy. The following songs refer to the *neru*:

Ka huru koe, neru e, i te ana.	You are secluded, O *neru*, in the cave.
Tautau ipu kiea o nga neru.	Hanging is the gourd with red ocher of the *neru*.
Tuai era ka huru koe, neru e.	You have been secluded for a long time, O *neru*.
A te manava he mate,	I am in love,
Ka huru koe, neru e,	You are secluded, O *neru*,
Ka huru kataia ritorito.	Being secluded you have become white.

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rect: " . . . a child whose parents had not performed the ceremony, and whose love affairs, for instance, went wrong, might even kill his father in revenge for the omission." The boy had his head shaved, and he presented an egg to a man called *tangata tapu manu*, who was told the child's name, in order to insert it in the ritual. Each boy went to Orongo in company with a *tangata tapu manu*. A man who had been a *poki manu* (child for whom the ceremony had been performed) told Routledge that when he went to Orongo with nine other children, they had taken ten chickens with them. Routledge writes (194, p. 267):

> The party danced in front of all the houses, went to the carved rocks at the end, and, coming back, stood in a semicircle in front of the door of Taura-renga, the house of the statue, the experts being behind and all singing; no offering was made to the images. Another authority stated that the parents and children went on the roof of the house, the experts being below, and the parents gave chickens to the men. Jotefa's party returned to their home, had a feast, and gave more food to the professionals. The *tangata-tapa-manu* subsequently repeated the ritual at any *koro* which were being held on the island, the object apparently being to make public the child's initiation.

Quite different was the ceremony for girls. After they had dressed and decorated themselves as well as they could, they went to Orongo where their parents awaited them. There they were entrusted to five men called *mata-ngarahu* (eye-paint). Each girl stood up on a rock called Papa-rona, with legs spread open, and two men below examined her vulva. If it was small (*teketeke*), they announced the fact in a loud voice. Then they carved the rock with an image of the vulva. This tradition is probably an attempt to explain the various representations of the vulva carved on a rock at Orongo.

More nearly correct is the reference to a special feast celebrated for the girl, who gave chickens to her brothers and cousins. At the ceremonies some reverence was paid to the image Taura-renga in Orongo. Viriamo explained to Routledge (194, p. 267) that she was a *poki manu* and was taken with her three sisters to the ahu Orohie. Both parents went and " . . . the mother took two chickens, one in each hand, and the mother and children stood upright and the 'maori sang'; they did not go to Orongo because there was war."

PUBERTY

According to Dr. Drapkin, puberty begins for girls at the age of 10 and is completed at 12. The critical age for boys is between 12 and 14. However, the sexual life of children begins long before they have reached puberty; at 6 or 7 years they indulge in sexual contacts, which are taken as a matter of course. They try to imitate what they have seen among the older children or adults. Sexual instincts develop rapidly and quite unrestrainedly. Girls and boys under 10 years of age have sexual intercourse, and many girls of about that age have been violated by grown men. Very young girls often

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548 554 562 urged to prostitute themselves were probably unmarried girls or women belonging to a lower class. Wives of chiefs, priests, or jealous men were probably obliged to remain hidden while visitors stayed on the island.

548 562 837 There has been little change in Easter Island morals. Every foreigner who comes ashore is the object of the most provocative offers on the part of the women, assisted by the men. Prostitution is considered a great source of profit by both sexes and is practiced not only with foreigners but among the natives themselves. An elderly man may have sexual intercourse with girls of 12 or 13 years whom he pays for it. Some women who are no longer attractive take as lovers very young boys to whom they give presents or make an offer to reveal the secrets of sexual life.

831 834 [1431] Despite the intense religious feeling of the islanders and the efforts of the catechist, sexual life is extremely free, usually with no restrictions whatever. Apparently love intrigues are short and devoid of sentimental background. Unions between young people are temporary and little jealousy, if any, is shown. Handsome young men who are good dancers are evidently favorites of the women. Gifts play an important part in love affairs.

836 Missionaries allude to the great "immorality" of the natives and complain that the pagan feasts, especially those that lasted a long time, were occasions for great license (230, vol. 6, p. 122). Geiseler (87, p. 29) writes:

> There are many cases of young girls remaining unmarried and belonging to the community, and they were highly valued . . . Even girls betrothed in childhood were to the moment they went to live with their husbands entirely free and might dispose of their persons without provoking scandal. In many instances girls had at least five permanent lovers. With the scarcity of women and the great number of men obliged to remain bachelors, such a condition is easily understood.

838 Pederasty does not appear among adults and no instance of such sexual aberration has been referred to by any inquirer. On the other hand, abnormal sex relationships between women is tolerated and accepted. Such relationships are between middle-aged women who are unattractive to men, and young women whom they have seduced. No other sex abnormalities have been reported.

Marriage

Marriage Laws

582 [835] When asked about marriage restrictions, the islanders would say only that *taina* (cousins) may not marry unless they are *taina haihai* (remote cousins). Relationship between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law was considered incestuous. Degrees of relationship permissible in marriage have been accurately established by Routledge (228, vol. 2, pp. 144-145):

> Brother and sister were two degrees apart, first cousins were four degrees, second cousins six degrees, and third cousins eight degrees, a method, I may point out, evidently based upon counting from one of the related persons up to the common ancestor, and then

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down again to the other. "The only restriction was that which forbade marriage before the fourth generation—that is, it only went down to and included second cousins; so that third cousins might marry. 582

A tale dictated by my informant expresses the horror inspired by incest and the punishment that threatened those who committed this crime. The word *paakeake* applies to the act of committing incest with a cousin. 684 835

A man whose name was Taropa had sexual intercourse at night with his cousin. The girl asked, "Who are you?" He said, "I am Taropa." The girl said, "Do not touch me. You are my cousin." "No," replied Taropa, "it does not matter if you do not speak about it." He grasped the girl firmly to violate her. All the time she was protesting, "No, no, I am your cousin," but Taropa did not listen to her. In the end she grew tired of the struggle, and the man put his hand between her legs. He copulated with her. When he finished, he left and ran away. She took the sperm, put it into a piece of tapa, and kept it. At dawn she took it to her father and said, "Here is a bundle belonging to Taropa. He slept with me." The father took the bundle and put it aside. A war broke out between the Tupa-hotu and the Miru. The people fled and hid in a cave called Anatetehe-tama. The young Taropa also hid there. The father of the girl whom Taropa had violated was among the enemies. They took the people of Tupa-hotu and killed them. Taropa went out, and the girl's father cut his throat with the bone of a swordfish. He took the blood and drank it because this Taropa had slept with his own cousin.

Infant betrothal was apparently a widespread custom in olden days. Children whose parents were friends were often engaged to each other, the bride being supposedly chosen by the boy's father, especially if he were a chief. Child marriages were celebrated with the same formalities as those of the adults but the children were not allowed to live together until mature. In the only concrete instance of such a union the boy was 12 years old and the girl was the same age or younger (87, p. 29; 54, p. 717; 86, p. 39). Traditions persisting today about infant betrothal may be summarized as follows: 584

A little girl was considered the prospective wife of an adult man who waited until she became mature. The bridegroom's father brought food for his future daughter-in-law, and his present was called *taku te kunonga ma taana poki* (present of the father-in-law to his child). The father of the boy filled big baskets with fowls and carried them to the girl's house. On the other hand, an adult woman might be engaged to a little boy who received presents from his future father-in-law. 584 431

Girls often bear their first child when they are 15 or 16 years old. At marriage a woman may already have several children, frequently by different fathers. The husband does not object to the children and assumes responsibility for them as if they were his own. Widows usually marry again and there are a few women who have had three or four husbands in succession. 848 587

According to Geiseler (87, p. 29), young men married between the ages of 17 and 20. Each built a hut of his own where the girl to whom he was betrothed came to live. Geiseler states that only married men were allowed to bear the vulva motif tattooed on their chest. As this is not recorded elsewhere it is probably a misinterpretation. 582 591 304 831

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586 Today separation is as simple and easy as in the past. Many men leave their wives because they are old or have become tiresome. Recently an English administrator tried to force the natives to live again with their original spouses, but so many men had separated and formed new ties that his experiment was decidedly unsuccessful.

Adultery

837 Unfaithfulness on the part of the husband is common and its discovery brings about quarrels which the men try to avoid. According to Dr. Drapkin who had the confidence of the natives, adultery on the part of the wife is not uncommon though not so frequent as has been assumed. A husband leaves a wife guilty of adultery only if her relations with another man have become notorious. So far as we know, a woman is seldom punished by thrashing. Sometimes the revenge of the outraged husband consists in taking away his wife's clothes, thus preventing her from going to church. Geiseler (87, p. 29) was told, probably by Salmon, that adultery was frequent but rarely discovered because the participants used such extraordinary tricks to avoid being recognized. For instance, the men are said to have worn the long gowns of [292] women and hats of horse hair (a kind of wig) called *iveve* so as to be taken for women in the dark. This statement may refer to a particular anecdote or incident, but it would be rash to consider wigs as being in general use by lovers of married women.

837 Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 122) says that the woman who was suspected
684 of sinful relations was in danger of losing her life, but Geiseler (87, p. 29) states that the death penalty was inflicted only if the guilty woman was the wife of a chief. A chiefess was usually killed by her husband or his brother. Among commoners the woman was severely thrashed or cast out of the house, and the marriage was dissolved. A jealous husband sometimes killed his wife's lover, as in the following tale:

539 While her husband went fishing, a woman fell in love with an orphan named Moa-
937 ure-nui (The-cock-with-the-big-penis) and slept with him. When the husband returned from fishing and landed at Puapau, the woman went to the shore to take the fish. But
831 the people shouted, "Where are you going for your fish? You have no right to it. Where is the fish of Moa-ure-nui?" The husband heard them.

The woman took the fish, went back to her house, and cooked it. Her son said, "Give me the fish with the red tail." But the woman answered, "I shall take the fish with the red tail to Moa-ure-nui so that he will lick my things." The child was ashamed and did not speak again. After the woman had eaten some fish, she took a bundle to Moa-ure-nui and stayed with him. Her husband found them; he killed Moa-ure-nui and buried his corpse in the ahu. The woman took the penis, wrapped it in a piece of tapa, and wept over it. All night she wept and the next day her husband found her in a paper mulberry pit still weeping. He took the parcel from her, tore it out, smashed it, pounded it. Then he said to the woman, "Now go down; your man came back." The woman returned to her house but did not weep because her husband had destroyed the thing she had.

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Household Furniture

The furniture in the ancient huts was extremely scanty, consisting of mats spread on the floor, stone pillows (*ngarua*), calabashes for water (fig. 15, *d*), baskets for food, and wooden images or tablets hanging from the thatching. Mats (*moenga*) were made of reed (pl. 2, *C*) and the fine specimens were highly valued. In modern houses, people who have no matress sleep on layers of grass, called *heriki* when used for this purpose. Their ancestors are said to have covered themselves with grass. The square stone pillows (fig. 15, *c*) were often decorated with straight lines or with the stylized representation of the vulva. Such pillows were not used elsewhere in Polynesia where wood was abundant. A single specimen of a carved stone pillow has been found in Hawaii (25, p. 125, fig. 102).

Community Houses

Wealthy people built special large houses called *hare-nui* to shelter their guests during a feast (*koro*). There must have existed a sort of competition between the feast givers as to who could erect the largest *koro* house. As on Mangareva, they were decorated with images (see p. 262).

Kitchen Shelters

Tepano assured me, though I could not verify his statement, that the ancient inhabitants of the island sometimes erected simple shelters to protect them from wind and rain. They placed in the ground seven rafters (*oka matua*) whose lower ends were curbed and upper ends tied to a horizontal pole (*hahaga*) supported by two vertical posts (*oka pou*). Horizontal sticks were tied to the rafters; then the whole structure was covered with reeds (*ngaatu*), sugar-cane leaves (*rau toa*), and grass (*mauku*). These easily constructed huts were readily abandoned and were probably analogous to the light structures built around the oven to form a kitchen. The oven was "palisadoed to the windward" (130, vol. 2, p. 256). People enjoyed sitting in front of or around the cooking place, where the men took their meals (87, p. 39).

Boat Houses

Near the pier of Hanga-roa are some sheds where the islanders keep their boats. With the exception of the thatched roof, nothing in the structure of such sheds is old. The roof, which is supported by stakes set at wide intervals, is composed of transverse sticks between which meager bunches of straw are stuck. The walls are made of piled stones.

Comparison with Other Polynesian Thatched Houses

The general shape of the Easter Island thatched house resembles the small, low huts with elliptical floor plan of the Tuamotus (in former days) and Rapa. The curving walls formed by bent rafters of Easter Island houses are

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301 532 are joined in the central part of the body. The suspension hole is perforated through this central ridge. The shape of the completed specimen may be inferred from another octopus (fig. 29, *d*) which is in good condition.

Sow bugs. Sow bugs or pill bugs (*Isopoda*) swarm under every stone and have been taken as models by the wood carvers of Easter Island. A wooden pendant in the shape of a sow bug is shown in figure 29, *f*. The convex back of the animal with its tergites or segments, and the sides lamellately expanded have been reproduced as faithfully as possible. The lower surface is slightly concave and raised throughout at a distance of 15 mm. from the edges. Although not very old the specimen represents an ancient type, as the good workmanship testifies.

831 **Phallus.** Figure 29, *c* shows a curious wooden figure which represents the phallus. This piece is exceptional. However, the natives on the island sold to me a stone partly broken which was a very realistic representation of the penis and which I believe to be genuine. It is highly improbable that such a stone had any magical importance.

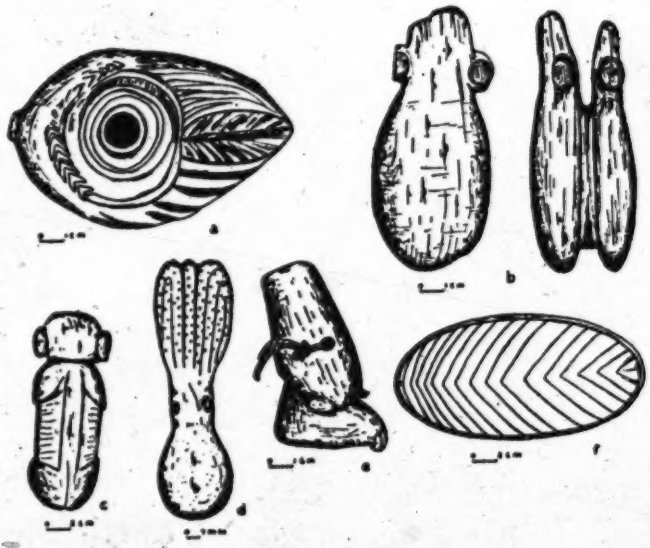

FIGURE 29.—Wooden pendants: *a*, turtle head, 120 mm. long, 67 mm. wide (6351); *b*, octopus fragment, 109 mm. long, 50 mm. wide, 45 mm. thick (C4172); *c*, phallus with one end shaped like glans of penis and other end carved, hole pierced evidently to represent urethra but cut away at back in middle portion to expose urethra, 140 mm. long, 60 mm. wide (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna, 22853); *d*, octopus with eyes made of pieces of obsidian inlaid in a shell ring, tentacles carved in relief, suction cups represented by bosses or knobs on back and by small holes on front, 188 mm. long, 55 mm. wide at tentacles (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna, 22868); *e*, human foot, heel separated from rest of foot by flange, toes doubled under, 84 mm. long, 48 mm. wide (B3653); *f*, sowbug (*Isopoda*) 218 mm. long, 104 mm. wide, 37 mm. thick (B3630).

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SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF TATTOOING

304 [831] Little is known of the symbolic value of tattooing. According to Geiseler (87, pp. 29-36), the vulva tattooed on the breast was an ensign of married chiefs; according to Stolpe (214, p. 10) it indicated only that the young man who wore this mark had watched the carnal union of a couple.

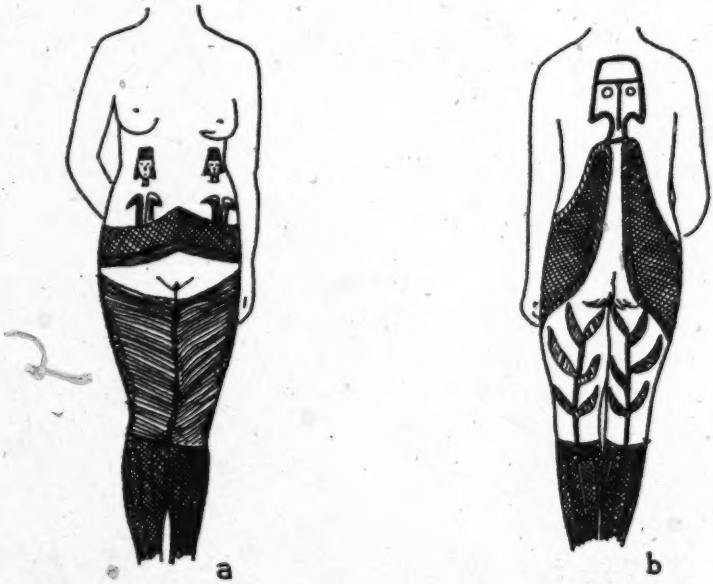

FIGURE 36.—Tattooing of a woman: *a*, front view; *b*, back view (from Thomson, 215, fig. 4).

[833] One of the tattooed old women interviewed by Knoche (171, p. 16) told him that the *rapa* tattooed on her back represented one of her first lovers. This tattooing was done in youth, after the first sexual intercourse.

[834] The natives sometimes interpreted figures on petroglyphs as tattoo patterns. Series of small concavities carved on the rocks, strongly suggest the dots tattooed across the forehead.

According to my informant, the first tattooing was made on the leg when a child was about eight years old. Geiseler (87, p. 35) states that young people were tattooed between their twelfth and their seventeenth year.

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Comparisons with Other Polynesian Wooden Images

Wooden images of humans are common to the cultures of eastern and central Polynesia. The decayed condition portrayed in Easter Island images is foreign to other Polynesian art, except that of the Chatham Islands. A Moriori image (206, pl. 4) has protruding ribs and a retracted abdominal region. However, all other features are treated quite differently from those on Easter Island images. Ribs are frequently represented on the famous tree carvings of the Chatham Islands and ribs may be seen in some Maori *hei-tiki* (206, p. 66) and in the cave drawings from the South Island of New Zealand. The position of the arms—slightly flexed and lying along the thighs—is the same in Easter Island and Hawaiian images (142, p. 89).

Small wooden images seem to have been used throughout Polynesia as temporary tabernacles for gods and ancestral spirits. Probably such was their function on Easter Island. In New Zealand sticks with conventionalized figures carved on one end were used as temporary shrines for the gods (20, vol. 1, p. 281). In the Whanganui district small images were kept in the house "each of which is dedicated to the spirit of an ancestor of the family, who is believed to enter into its substance, on particular occasions, in order to hold converse with the living" (203, p. 63). Occasionally Maori wooden images were made to represent defunct relatives before which the living wept while food was offered to them (20, vol. 2, p. 60). Tahitian *ti'i* (wooden images) were also temporary receptacles for lesser gods or spirits who were called into the image by a priest or a magician (107, p. 203). The naturalistic Mangarevan wooden figures represented gods, especially the god Tu. The small stone and wooden images of Hawaii and the Marquesas were probably ceremonial objects but their exact use is not known.

GOOD-LUCK OBJECTS

The magic significance attributed by one of my informants to the signs on the tablets probably derived from the fact that the natives consider as talismans or amulets every stone with an incised figure. Numerous boulders with engraved designs on them have been found on the island. The design which is most frequently reproduced on the stones is that of the vulva, stylized as in figure 42, *e-f* (p. 258). Rarely the outline of a fish, a bird, a turtle, or a man is seen (fig. 42, *b-c*). The carved figures might have increased the magic power of the stones or simply distinguished them from ordinary boulders.

J. L. Young, who collected some magic stones with the incised representation of the vulva, was given the correct name, *maea mo moa* (stone for fowls) and was told that the stones "were placed under domestic fowls with the idea that the fertility of the eggs was thus promoted" (229, p. 171). A

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few years before Young's visit, Thomson had purchased from the natives what he calls a "fowl god" (*maea moa*, stone of fowls) which he describes (215, p. 537) as "a beach pebble with slight traces of tool-marks" that was placed under a setting hen before the eggs were hatched. Stones incised with designs of the vulva are common on the island and had no connection with the purported ceremony of the *hakatoro* (stretching of a girl's clitoris) as suggested by Young (229, p. 32). The stretching of the girl's clitoris (*repe*) was not a special rite, but a long process of deformation which lasted for years under the care of the girl's mother. Routledge counted 49 signs of the vulva (*komari*) on the rocks at Orongo and observes that the "*komari* is frequently found on hollow stones and elsewhere" (194, p. 449). The same symbol appears on a stone which was given to Thomson as a fish god (215, p. 537):

> This rough, ill-shaped stone was one of the objects really worshipped by the natives. Some of them bear evidences of tool marks, but it does not appear that any effort was made to carve them. These gods were never common, and were possessed by communities or clans [lineages], and not by individuals. The legends claim that they were all brought to the island by Hotu Matua and the first settlers.

In a field near Mataveri we found a large stone, about 3 feet high, on which the conventionalized design of the big-eyed god was carved five times. The location of this stone in the middle of the cultivated grounds resembles strongly the *kumara* gods of New Zealand, which were temporary abiding-places for the *atua* and were placed in potato fields to insure a good harvest.

Natives still remember that formerly fishermen carried in their canoes stones selected for their shape which were supposed to bring luck. Some looked like fish, others like cocks, and some suggested the form of a man. They were called *maea ika* (stones for fish). There were special ones called *maea kahi* for the *kahi* fish. These, according to Thomson (215, p. 537), had "no distinguishing characteristics."

Amulets were buried in houses. Thomson got a fair collection of them by digging beneath the door posts of ancient dwellings. "The majority are simply beach pebbles; others have been formed by rubbing; and one is a triangular-shaped stone with a face outlined upon it. These were placed beneath the houses, with much ceremony, and were supposed to ward off evil influences" (215, p. 538).

Natives frequently offered me stone blocks with natural holes which they called "nests for hens." They insisted that these stones, not unlike enormous egg-cups, were "good" for the hens and caused them to lay eggs. This interpretation was confirmed by the discovery of some of these stones in an old chicken house.

Among the "fetish stones" figured by Thomson (215, pl. 60, fig. 2) there is one identical with five stones in Bishop Museum (B3545) classified as "sharpening stones." All are elongated and have a more or less conical form. The porosity of the stones

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PETROGLYPHS

532 The petroglyphs on the rocks at the end of the village of Orongo were the first to be studied in detail and reproduced in drawings and photographs (pl. 7, *c*). The basalt rocks that overhang the sea east of the village are covered with carvings in high relief that have been made at different periods. Some are entirely worn down while others are fairly well preserved. The most easterly houses of the village have been built upon carvings, thus giving good evidence that some of the petroglyphs are older than parts of the village.

Most of the petroglyphs represent the fantastic bird-man with the head of a frigate bird, recognizable by its curved beak and pouch, and a human body in a crouching position. With one exception these images are in profile. One is combined with a feather-like appendage. Three carvings show the bird-man holding an egg (fig. 45, *a*). Four small carvings of birds, mentioned by Routledge (194, p. 448), are outlined in the usual style and are real masterpieces of graphic art. The head of one of the bird-men is merged with the face of the big-eyed god, a common motif of the Easter Island petroglyphs (134, p. 212). The big-eyed face was carved first and then transformed into a bird-man. We recorded several other occurrences of the big-eyed face. The bird-man motif occurs about 120 times among the petroglyphs of Orongo. The figure is outlined by pecking the surface around the design so that it stands in relief.

A common design at Orongo, especially on a flat rock overhanging the cliffs, is the conventionalized representation of the vulva. This figure is tradi-

[831 881] connected with puberty rites.

FIGURE 45.—Petroglyphs: *a*, bird-man carved in low relief with egg in hand, 36.5 cm. long (after Routledge, 194, fig. 112); *b-c*, big-eyed figures in Hen cave (from Lavachery, 134, p. 109).

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These sculptures are of a crude and unsymmetrical workmanship. The height is 12 cm., the diameter 16 mm. The nose is bent, the eyes stand out like flat buttons. The ears are long rectangles. On the eyes there is a prominent ridge like the visor of a cap. The top of the head is sloping, but flat. This surface is occupied by the engraved representation of the vulva.

Routledge (194, fig. 111) purchased a little stone figure from Motu-nui. Two other images of more or less the same type were kept at Mataveri; both came from Orongo and were probably pillars from the two sides of a house entrance. One of these images was removed to Belgium and will be described by Layachery.

Small stone idols were certainly carved in olden days as evidenced by an image (fig. 54, *a*) procured from a native who found it near Ahu-te-peu. The statue is made of a very light, soft basalt. Either the features of the face were never carved or they have been obliterated. The long ears are well marked. The flexed arms are crudely indicated. Knoche (123, fig. 32) has published an obsidian head which may be authentic. The figure is rather flat and its style closely akin to that of the wooden images. In the Peabody Museum, Cambridge (5359), there is a stone image that is an exact reproduction of the wooden statues of the *moai kavakava* type. The eyes are represented by two white stones inserted in the hollow sockets, the ribs and vertebrae are protruding, and the abdomen bulging. A crude stone statue is in the National Museum, Washington (32645). Though modern natives carve hundreds of small stone images, those which really belong to the old culture are rare and cannot be regarded as a normal expression of the local art.

In Bishop Museum there is a crude stone head, the authenticity of which cannot be doubted (fig. 55, *a*). Judging from its dimensions and style, this figure must have come from Orongo where it was a pillar ornamenting the entrance of a house. The flat, broad nose, carved in relief, forms a continuous level with the forehead. The eyes protrude and there is no mouth.

Several stone heads were purchased by officers of the French man-of-war *La Flore* in 1872. They are now preserved in La Rochelle Museum Lafaille (144) and in the Musée de l'hopital maritime de Rochefort-sur-Mer (45, fig. 61). The image in La Rochelle is said to have been found on a marae on Rano-raraku (144, p. 174), a statement which I doubt. It is carved in a style similar to that of the ahu statues. The pointed base was certainly stuck into the ground. Loti (146, pp. 259, 265) alludes to stone heads and to the eagerness of the natives to trade them. In one of the huts he visited he saw two of these images, one on either side of the door (145, pl. 66). A head of the same type is shown in figure 54, *b*. The nose is narrow and straight and on the same plane as the forehead. The mouth is formed by two parallel raised strips. The oval eyes protrude. The cheekbones are two crescentic prominences. The style of these carvings recalls the conventionalized human

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776 definite reference to Tangaroa, Tu, Hiro, Rongo, or Tane—the most prominent characters of mythology throughout Polynesia. However, these gods were not entirely unknown; they seem to have had a purely academic existence and, as in Mangareva (28, p. 418), they were recorded only as legendary figures or as divine ancestors heading genealogies. The only definite evidence that Rongo and Tangaroa were known is their mention at the beginning of the genealogy of the king's family.

HIRO

776 The name of Hiro appears in a very old invocation for rain (p. 330). A
823 stone near ahu Mahatua on the northeast coast is named Pu-o-Hiro (the
[831] Trumpet-of-Hiro). It is pierced by a natural hole and it is said that when the northwest wind blows, a sound like that of a trumpet is produced. The stone is covered with carved representations of the vulva (*komari*). An ahu on the south coast is called Tangaroa-Hiro. Hiro in the Society Islands is the protector of thieves. The Easter Islanders had a god invoked by those who had committed a larceny in order not to be caught. Presumably this unknown patron of thieves was Hiro.

TANGAROA

776 The kings of Easter Island, like those of Mangareva and other Polynesian islands, traced their origin back to Tangaroa. The exalted position of Tangaroa at the head of the genealogy of kings might be interpreted as a sign that he was one of the gods. As in Samoa and the Society Islands a month name of the local calendar (November) is called after the god (Tangaroa-uri). On Easter Island there is still a myth about a King Tangaroa who came to the island and manifested his supernatural powers in many ways. Although modern natives maintain that this Tangaroa was merely a human invested with mana, there is little doubt that he was originally a god. One informant told me that his name was Tangaroa-mea, the name of one of the great gods of Mangareva. As my informants had heard of the god Tangaroa of Mangareva, the analogy between the two names may be due to recent borrowings, but the tale itself was given to me as being purely local. Simon Riroroko, the last descendant of the kings, and Tepano, who told me the tale, insisted that King Tangaroa came from Mangareva.

776 The king, Tangaroa-mea said: "I shall enter the water like a seal and go to a country
773 where I shall be king." The king, his brother, said: "You will die, it is a distant country,
539 you cannot go quickly. I can go there and return the same day."

They quarreled. Victory was Tangaroa's and he went to Easter Island. His mana was over the sea, in which he was like a seal. The mana of his brother was over the land.

He landed at Tonga-riki, and he was seen by the people. The clamor resounded: "People of the land, a seal has landed at Tonga-riki." People said: "He has seal's feet,

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by a continuous round of festivities and banquets. Possibly a certain significance is to be attached to the statement by Gana (86, p. 33) that while the people were gathered at Orongo "the men and the women appeared entirely naked in public dances, making indecent and immoral gestures." If this is true we may suppose that erotic dances were performed at Orongo as in the Marquesas, in order to favor fertility in nature.

The name of Mataveri is associated in the minds of the natives with cannibal meals. Both Routledge and I were told that the *mata-toa* (warriors) who gathered at Mataveri, both before and after the principal feast at Orongo, were then more prone than at any other time to indulge in human flesh. Quite near Mataveri is a cave called Cave-of-the-cannibal, Ana-kai-tangata, where tradition says that the victims were devoured. On the vault of this cave are painted birds and Routledge saw the sketch, now crumbled away, of a European boat.

In January (according to Routledge, July) all or part of the people who had been in Mataveri ascended to the stone village of Orongo by way of a special path which still exists and is called "the road of the ao." Generally the contestants in the race were named by priests (*ivi-atua*) who had dreamed that a certain *mata-toa* would become a bird-man (*tangata-manu*). After the race a disappointed contestant might accuse the priest who had named him as bird-man of being a liar or he might hopefully defer his prophesied victory to a later year or to one of his descendants.

Generally the actual search for the first *manu-tara* egg was entrusted to men called *hopu* who supposedly acted as servants of the contestants. Usually each competitor sent only one *hopu*. However, instances are recorded of one *hopu* serving two employers and of one contender having two *hopu*. Both Routledge and Tepano say that there might be more than one bird-man. Probably there was one supreme bird-man and several supernumeraries whose *hopu* had found eggs after the first one. In the race held four years before the custom was abandoned, four tribes took part and there were ten winners. Two *hopu* had two employers each, while three contestants hunted their own eggs, one acting also for another man. Routledge regards this as a sign of decadence. However, so little is known about the cult that it is dangerous to speak of degenerate forms in reference to it. Tepano was quite firm in his statement that the competitors themselves sometimes looked for the eggs. The early missionaries and travelers who described the egg race were of the opinion that the candidates to the title acted on their own account and that it was their courage or their skill which was rewarded. Thomson's (215, p. 483) version may have some validity:

> The race for the distinguished honor of bearing the first egg was an occasion of intense excitement. The contestants were held in check at Orongo until the auspicious moment arrived, and the scramble commenced at the word "go" pronounced by the king,

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535 arms while slowly stamping their feet as if sometimes hesitating to touch the ground. As far as I remember the tramping was broken by half turns and forward and backward steps, but my general impresson was of constant tramping which was often out of time with the movements of the arms. The leaders of the file danced with quick steps, sometimes approaching each other, then retreating. Occasionally they touched their weapons as if to start a fight. They broke the silence with meaningless utterances in Spanish, French, German, and English.

The measure was marked on two drums, each beaten with one stick. One drum was made from a tin box, the other from wood covered with a skin. The rhythm produced was not unlike that which I heard later in Tahiti.

The first troupe of dancers was followed by another which performed the same dance. A big fellow, strangely dressed, accompanied the movements of the others with contortions of his neck, knees, and face.

The comic interlude from this long, dull dance was furnished by a group of young boys dressed like regular Chilean sailors. Bent double, they executed funny steps, made faces, and behaved in a generally grotesque manner while they kept time to the sound of the drum.

The stamping and shouting of orders in foreign languages would have lasted for hours had not many of the young men yielded to the pleasure of dancing modern Chilean dances—the *cueca* and the *vals*.

The modern natives usually dance Chilean or European dances, but sometimes, especially to please foreigners, they dance the *hura* which is an adaptation of the modern Tahitian dance, learned from a Tahitian native who had recently been on the island. Generally the movements are awkward and without artistic justification.

Dress for Dances

292 Dress for festive days was similar to that for ordinary days but was probably cleaner and of better quality. The *nua* or tapa cloths, worn on the
308 men's shoulders and around the women's waists, were stained with yellow turmeric and were particularly large. All kinds of headdresses were worn. On festive occasions both men and women paid especial attention to beautifying their faces and bodies with paintings. Tepano states that men had various
[83] symbols, among them a vulva, painted on their breasts. However, this was a typical tattooing for men and probably Tepano confused tattooing with painting.

Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 67), the first European to assist at a feast on Easter Island, gives the following description of the participants:

> Naturally festivals are an opportunity for an ostentatious display of luxury. Everybody goes to them wearing the most precious things he has. There appear the most eccentric dresses. The Kanakas are no longer satisfied with the dresses I described above. They put on anything they can get hold of. They paint themselves more carefully, they resort to the help of hands expert in the art of fixing colours and of tracing on the face capricious lines which they consider very effective.

TALES

538 The only aspect of the old culture that has been preserved by the modern population of Easter Island is the folklore. Some myths and legends were